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RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN OUR SCHOOLS.
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THE PLAN OF THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY IS OUTLINED IN AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE WHICH BRIEFLY DISCUSSES THE STATUS OF RACIAL DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS. ONE SECTION OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY IDENTIFIES SOME REPORTS AND DISCUSSIONS OF DESEGREGATION EFFORTS. A SECOND AND BRIEFER ONE BRINGS TOGETHER ARTICLES WHICH DEAL WITH THE LEGAL DECISIONS ON WHICH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IS BASED. THE THIRD AND MAJOR SECTION, WHICH IS ADDRESSED TO SOCIAL PLANNERS AS WELL AS RESEARCH WORKERS, CITES REPORTS OF SPECIAL PROJECTS WHICH DEAL WITH PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION OR ITS IMPACT, REPORTS OF EVALUATIONS OF PROGRAMS, AND A FEW STUDIES RELATED TO PUPIL CHARACTERISTICS OR PUPIL FUNCTIONING UNDER DESEGREGATION CONDITIONS. THE MORE THAN 140 PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED WORKS CITED IN THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY WERE PRODUCED DURING THE 1960'S. THIS ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED IN "IRCD BULLETIN," VOLUME 1, NUMBER 4, SEPTEMBER 1965. (JL)

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QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION

In a few communities in the North, the modifier "Quality" has recently been added to the "Integrated Education" demand of the civil rights movement. It reflects growing recognition that problems once thought specific to segregated minority-group schools, mainly Negro, tend to persist even after desegregation has been achieved. They are problems to which both our profession and the civil rights movement have given distorted emphasis.

Prior to the 1961 decision of the U.S. District Court in the New Rochelle Case, public school authorities ... most

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emphasis emerged. Public school authorities proposed improvement of the segregated schools, whereas civil rights leaders demanded their elimination.

It probably was more than coincidental that professional concern over the "culturally deprived child" arose to prominence just when the movement for school integration was burgeoning. Indeed, the initial reaction of school authorities in several large systems was to offer all kinds of immediate school improvements - in physical facilities, professional staff and extra "compensatory programs" - in lieu of desegregation. One was reminded of the last-minute efforts of many Southern systems to forestall the 1954 Supreme Court decision through unprecedented steps toward "equality" for the Negro separate school.

In any case, the development of special educational programs for socially disadvantaged children has recently become a major preoccupation of many Northern school systems, and almost all of these new programs are in segregated Negro schools. But desegregation of the schools proceeds only haltingly, and its pace generally varies directly with the strength and militancy of the civil rights movement.

Skeptical of Compensatory Education

Civil rights leaders tended initially to look with suspicion upon the new programs of compensatory education. They feared, not without warrant, that such programs represented the Northern version of "separate but equal," the futility of which was too well known. This skepticism continues to persist in civil rights circles, along with the apparent assumption that desegregation will bring about equality.

Thus, although the lines are not neatly drawn, two fairly separate and distinct "camps" now contend in public education for Negroes in the North. School authorities,

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In our lead article Dr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, Associate Professor of Education, Yeshiva University has briefly developed the relationship between the concern for adequate education for the disadvantaged and the civil rights movement's concern for "quality integrated education." This article first appeared in the F.G.S.E. Newsletter Vol. V No. 1, September 1965. It is reprinted here because of its relevance for the focal point of this issue of the IRCD Bulletin.

There is among educators and social planners in the United States considerable agreement relative to the inevitability of the achievement of some degree of official racial desegregation in the public schools of this country. There are, however, varying degrees of commitment to the achievement of racial integration in all of these schools. There is probably even less consensus relative to how either of these goals should be achieved. In addition, there is concern on the parts of some leaders of the school desegregation-integration effort that emphasis given to the special needs and conditions of the previously segregated minority group children may tend to retard the desegregation process. Among persons raising such concern are also those who argue that the special needs or differences in these learners, as compared to majority group children, are mythical and the very concept that such differences exists, they argue, are due to racist attitudes which to some degree permeate much of our society. Unfortunately, social practice and available research findings provide us with equivocal answers to this latter issue, with few good models by which future desegregation efforts may be designed, and with little definitive knowledge by which planning for the achievement of integration may be guided.

Recognizing, however, that there are a number of communities which could benefit from the experiences of others, limited as that experience may be, the staff of the Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged has prepared a section of the current bibliography with a view to identifying some reports and discussions of desegregation efforts. A second and briefer section of the current bibliography identifies articles which deal with legal decisions upon which school desegregation is based. The third and major section of the current bibliography has a broader focus and is directed to social planners as well as to research workers in their problem area. In this section we have brought together discussions of the problems, descriptive reports of special projects directed at primary or secondary aspects of desegregation or its impact, reports of attempts at evaluation of programs and

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> "Desegregation of our schools can be achieved in a relatively short time once we decide to do it. Integration, on the other hand will take time because it involves changes in personal attitudes, the unlearning of deep-seated prejudices and the development of appreciation of and respect for individual worth and dignity."
>
> James Allen, Annual letter to NYS teachers–1964

together with many university professionals, are calling for more compensatory educational programs to improve the quality of Negro schools without changing the segregated structure whereas civil rights leaders are demanding an end to segregated schools with little regard for what happens afterward. Both camps avow equality of educational opportunity as their goal, but the one-sided approach of neither can suffice to attain it.

On the one hand, in a social structure which generally defines for Negroes a subordinate "place" in the community, school segregation - whether de facto or de jure - is hostile to the optimum development of Negro children. Racial discrimination and attendant white superiority attitudes are deeply enmeshed in our culture, and they are almost inevitably reinforced by separate Negro schools. Partly as a consequence, the expectations and performances of both professional staff and pupils in such schools tend toward levels corresponding to the inferior status of Negroes in the community. Besides, as much history attests, it is just too easy for administrative and supervisory officials to neglect the Negro separate school.

Negate Goals

Thus, those educators who now encourage the development of compensatory programs in segregated Negro schools, largely ignoring the need for desegregation, tend thereby to negate their asserted goals. This applies not only to most public school administrators, who are caught in the crossfire of community pressures, but also to many university professors, whose approach to the question is presumably more objective. The dictum of the Supreme Court that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" is profoundly true.

On the other hand, as recent experience demonstrates, merely to enroll white and Negro pupils in common schools by no means constitutes an adequate approach to equality. Many problems remain to be solved, only a few of which can here be cited.

First, the academic achievement of large numbers-not all-of the Negro children in recently desegregated schools is substantially below that of their fellow-pupils. Whether this discrepancy results from their depressed social-class backgrounds or from substandard programs in their formerly segregated schools, or both, the need for special remedial instruction to help overcome their handicaps is patent.

Second, current practices in ability-grouping often result in high-achieving classes which are all-white or nearly so, and low-achieving classes which are quite, or all-Negro. Such segregated classes in desegregated schools cannot but nourish racial prejudice among white children, and thwart wholesome ego development among Negro children. Considering the failure of many scores of investigations to confirm the assumed benefits of ability-grouping for learners of any race, a re-evaluation and revision of this practice has long been in order. Now, with the coming of school desegregation, it is especially urgent.

Third, as many studies have shown, a pervasive, white-middle-class bias is characteristic of the readers, textbooks, and other instructional materials used in our public schools. Such materials, always antithetical to education for democratic Society, are perhaps even more incongruous and harmful in desegregated schools.

Fourth, large numbers of both white and Negro teachers have been inadequately prepared-by their social experiences and their professional education-to cope effectively with the instructional problems associated with desegregation. Even teachers with democratic and highly professional purposes-which probably means most teachers-commonly lack the theoretical insights, social attitudes, and instructional skills which are essential for integrating social-class and ethnic diversity in the classroom. There is a general and pressing need for vital, large-scale programs of inservice education which are developed around the specific problems of teaching in desegregated schools.

Thus, those civil rights leaders who focus attention almost exclusively upon school desegregation, largely ignoring such problems and compensatory measures as are here cited, tend likewise to negate their asserted goal. Although the ideology of the civil rights movement makes a valid distinction between "desegregation" and "integration," the demands for which the movement really struggles tend toward a one-sided emphasis. Rarely do they include the measures necessary to transform the administrative arrangements of desegregation into the educational processes of integration.

The democratic goal for which both our profession and the civil rights movement should strive is equality of educational opportunity in integrated schools which function on a high level of quality. Its attainment, admittedly difficult, will require both desegregation and compensatory education, together. They may not properly be viewed as alternative; only their synthesis can suffice.

One should like to rely upon our profession for primary leadership toward this goal, but past performance and political realities caution against doing so. As in the initial-stage struggle for desegregation, the main thrust toward the next stage of true integration will probably have to come through pressure by the civil rights movement; and it is only now beginning to appreciate the urgency of both desegregation and compensatory education.

Thus, those few sectors of the civil rights movement which have already adopted the comprehensive demand of "Quality Integrated Education" are of special significance. They represent an emerging trend which one day must become dominant.

D.A.W.

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a few studies related to pupil characteristics or pupil functioning.

The bibliography includes much of the more important work available on the subject of racial desegregation and integration in education in the U.S.A, Obviously this body of research and descriptive materials has many limitations. The limitations are particularly acute in view of the very complicated social and educational problems involved in the desegregation-integration process. There are, however, some leads for practice and further research which can be drawn from the data and experience accumulated. In the summary statement which follows, Dr. Irwin Katz, Director of the N.Y.U. Research Center for Human Relations, discusses the current status of desegregation research. Dr. Katz identifies some promising leads for action and important research needs.

"To change from a segregated to an integrated school requires a great deal more than simply changing policy or making a change in school assignments, or even certain changes in the composition of the classroom. It involves personal crises for many of the people caught up in it, and teachers themselves may be resistant to giving their full support, not because they are biased-although they may very well be. It may be they are resistant simply because they feel grossly incompetent to deal with a situation which they never had before, and for which they have had no training."

——Wilson Record, Portland State College, Department of Sociology, Portland, Oregon, from the Proceedings of the Research Conference School Desegregation, Yeshiva Uni.–1965.

STATUS OF RESEARCH ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Despite the obvious need for sound concepts and reliable information to deal with problems relating to school desegregation, this area has been relatively neglected by social scientists. Consequently, beliefs about how best to implement desegregation, and about its effects, tend to rest more on ideology and folklore than on objective data.

Regarding local resistance to integration, research is needed on (a) the causes of violence and its control, and (b) community power structures. There is a considerable body of evidence from studies of schools, housing, industry, unions, and the armed forces that a policy of swift transition to total desegration, vigorously enforced, minimizes all types of overt resistance to the change, while weak gradualism tends to encourage resistance. Violence is most likely to erupt when local law-enforcement authorities adopt an ambiguous or openly anti-integrationist position. Although these points are now well-established, little is yet known about the role of power elites and of local political alliances in desegregation policy decisions. Investigators of community power structures have usually not focused their attention upon educational issues. Nonetheless, it is clear that power elites tend to be made up of businessmen and industrialists, who are often able to influence both official action and mass behavior, and moreover, are susceptible to arguments that point up the economic advantages of school integration.

Survey data on the alleged "white backlash" show it to be largely a journalistic fiction. Both in the North and South the trend since 1954 has been toward greater acceptance by white parents of racially mixed classes, even up to 50:50 ratios. Periodic checks on the attitudes of various elements in the population would make possible the pinpointing of sources of resistance to desegregation and underlying reasons for the resistance. Much of the psychological research on the dynamics of attitude change has direct relevance to desegregation.

Demographic studies reveal population trends that have far-reaching implications for the problem of de facto segregation. The urbanization and migration of Negroes out of the South has continued at a high rate since World War II, producing massive enclaves, or ghettoes, in the central areas of virtually all major cities of the nation. Housing segregation in these cities remains strikingly high, due primarily to discrimination rather than Negro preference or economic disability. Trends in housing segregation, and the effectiveness of techniques for its control, have direct relevance to the school situation.

The bulk of available evidence, most of it scientifically inadequate, supports the view that desegregation is not detrimental to scholastic standards. Indeed, the integration of school systems has often been accompanied by a general upgrading of the entire educational enterprise, as in the District of Columbia and Louisville. In instances where transferred Negro children fail to adjust academically their difficulties are usually attributable to the low quality of the sending schools and enormous differences in the economic backgrounds of white and Negro pupils. A few studies have found that white teachers tend to have negative stereotypes of Negro students. These attitudes are revealed to the minority group children, and have an adverse effect on their scholastic achievement. Further research is needed, not only to discover in greater detail the social attitudes of teachers, but to examine the specific ways in which such attitudes have an impact upon the Negro child. Two important aspects of the teacher's behavior are, first, her role as a dispenser of rewards and punishments through expressions of approval and disapproval, and secondly, her role as a prestigeful model, whose responses to minority pupils will be imitated by the white children. That rejection by white peers has harmful emotional effects upon Negro children is well known from studies of biracial summer camps, and token-desegregated schools and colleges in the South. High anxiety, whether due to social rejection and isolation or to strong fear of failure, impairs performance on complex cognitive tasks. On the other hand, research findings suggest that acceptance by white peers and adults can have remarkably favorable effects upon the academic behavior of minority students, especially when they perceive that conscientious effort is likely to culminate in success.

Little of value is presently known about how to train teachers to be more sensitive to the needs of minority children. Inservice training in human relations skills, though widely practiced in northern urban school systems, has not been properly evaluated with respect to its effectiveness in changing behavior in the classroom. Another problem that requires investigation is that of the educational consequence of the racial segregation or integration of faculty members.

Finally, it is desirable to study the various devices that have been proposed for implementing desegregation, such as busing, the pairing of schools, redistricting, educational parks, and so on. Very little is known as yet about their relative usefulness in various settings. One may hope that a major breakthrough in our understanding of desegregation issues will be accomplished by extensive analysis of the large body of data from the national assessment of educational opportunity that is now being conducted for the United States Office of Education, in accordance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I.K.

"I think social ecology and human development research would lead us to expect that long after educational opportunity has been equalized, the dominant social groups, in this instance the white middle-class, will maintain an edge on the reward structure. Are we capable of research that would show how to package coping skills in such a way that they could be supplied to youngsters who are going to have unequal advantages long after the school situations have been equalized?"

——Robert Dentler, Associate Director, NY Center for Urban Education; from the Proceedings of the Research Conference on School Desegregation, Yeshiva Uni.--1965.

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